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FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
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HOW THE WORKERS LIVED AND FOUGHT UNDER TSARISM

Forty years have passed since the day the workers and peasants of Russia, led by the Communist Party, overthrew the tsarist autocracy, for ever destroyed the rule of the capitalists and landlords, and set up Soviet power, the power of the people. Great October called forth a deep-going revolution in all spheres of life: economic, political, ideological, and cultural, and in the traditions and life of the working people.

The tsarist autocracy was the bitterest enemy of the peoples of Russia. The long and inexorable revolutionary struggle against tsarism, the bourgeoisie and the landlords for social, national and political emancipation forged ever closer bonds of friendship between Russians and the non-Russian peoples whom tsarism was oppressing.

The tsar and his satraps ruled the country with no other interests than those of the landlords and capitalists at heart. The tsar promulgated laws, appointed officials, and spent the people's money as he saw fit. The people had no voice in the administration. V. I. Lenin called the tsarist autocracy a system of the absolute rule of officials and the police where the people had no rights whatever.

Employment was not guaranteed. Hundreds of thousands of workers wandered about Russia seeking jobs.

Arbitrary rule reigned supreme. The workers were tyrannized, and because they had no rights, Russian and foreign capitalists devised all sorts of ways of mercilessly exploiting and robbing them. Wages were cut wherever possible: the working day was lengthened; the money the workers earned by their sweat and blood was paid out irregularly, usually on the eve of "big holidays"; the workers often received bonds instead of money and the only place where these could be redeemed was at the factory shop that was stocked with inferior goods which it sold at exhorbitant prices; frequently less was paid than what was earned; fines were imposed for every, even the slightest "offence"; tens of thousands of rubles were withheld from the workers' wages annually.

The working day at the factories was unreasonably long and wages were pitifully small. The labour conditions were deplorable. If a worker was injured he was thrown out into the street. Medical assistance was rendered only for a high fee and was therefore beyond the reach of the working man. Neither the capitalist nor the government paid old age or disability pensions.

Here is what Lenin wrote in 1899 about the lot of the working class: "...look at the industries where the workers have not secured the protection of the law and cannot oppose the capitalists, and you will see an immeasurably long working day, sometimes extending for as much as 17 or 19 hours, you will see children of five or six doing work beyond their strength, you will see a generation of people who are constantly hungry and who are gradually dying off from hunger."

One of these was the coal industry.

Work in the mines entailed a terrific risk, especially at steeply inclined coal seams where timbering was an

extremely complicated business. The hewers had to do everything themselves, but not all of them had the necessary experience. Mechanization was out of the question altogether.

The labour of the miners, who had to work with a pick hunched up in their burrows in semi-darkness and oppressive heat, was painfully heavy. Only a flickering wick in a tin with kerosene lighted their way. With bitter irony, the miners called this wick "a light from God," and the mines—burrows, holes, rat-traps. The lot of the sledge-pullers (they were also called haulers) was no better. Most of them were juveniles. At the command "Off you go!", they would hurriedly go down on all fours and slowly, straining all their strength, pull their loaded boxes. To prevent their feet from slipping on the wet stones, the heavy boots of the haulers were studded. When they crawled about the mine, their studded boots made a metallic sound which was like the clatter of horses' hoofs on a paved road.

Owners of factories, plants and mines willingly hired children to do the work of men. In their eyes, women and children had a special value as a more tractable and submissive labour force. In tsarist Russia, every third worker began his career at the age of ten or twelve.

Not all parents managed to "apprentice" their children. To do this, they had to coax and bribe foremen. Working men's children went to work in the workshops and factories emaciated and weakened by disease. The dark, damp premises doomed them to premature disability.

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Under tsarism, life was a stern teacher for Ivan Korobov, veteran blast-furnace operator and head of an emi-

nent family of workers. His mother died when he was only eighteen months old. Poverty drove his father out of a remote little village in Orel Region to find employment in the Donbas. As a lad he became an apprentice in a blast-furnace shop where his job was to crush ore.

Whenever there was a minute to spare, the lad would run to the blast-furnace shop to watch what was being done and help the operators. In this way he gradually learnt their trade. He respected the old, experienced workers and gave heed to what they said, and they, in their turn, treated him in a warm, fatherly way.

Ivan Korobov also worked as a hauler. Formerly this meant pulling a two-wheeled trolley with a heavy load. More often than not a hauler would be ready to swoon from fatigue before reaching the end of the run. Many years passed before Ivan was able to transfer to a blast-furnace and become an operator in the shop.

The workers lived in damp and dirty barracks with two or three tiers of bunks ranged along the walls. These were the homes of family men and bachelors, the healthy and the sick.

In the Donbas, besides these barracks, there were what were known as cabins—low dug-outs with roofs scarcely to be seen above the surface of the ground. There were a large number of these cabins along the Kalmius River. A staircase cut into the earth led down into each cabin. In it the picture was invariably of a woman in rags sitting on the earthen floor of the dark, damp and musty room and mashing cooked potato peelings—the meal for her family. There would be emaciated, rickety children crawling about at her feet. The family would be waiting for the father, its only breadwinner, to return from work.

Most of the bachelors did not have even this, and rented a "corner." In the barracks, the entire space was filled with beds, and, as a rule, the landlords let each of the beds to two tenants, one for the day, the other for the night. Juveniles could not pay even for such a "corner" and slept at the workbenches, having neither pillows, bedclothes nor blankets.

Prior to the Revolution, the workers of the town of Ivanovo-Voznesensk lived in suburbs that had such expressive names as Yamy (Holes) and Golodaikha (Starvation). The town itself was dirty and dreary. The local mill-owners made tremendous fortunes on the blood and sweat of the workers but never spent a single kopek on housing, schools or amenities. There was some talk in the municipal council about laying water mains, but when Sipyagin, the Minister for the Interior, heard about it he suggested that a new prison be built instead.

The working class of Russia was oppressed not only by Russian but also by foreign capitalists, who controlled nearly three-quarters of the iron and steel, coal, and metal-working industries. The oil-fields, railways, metal-working and metallurgical factories were in the hands of the British, French, German, Belgian and other capitalists, whose sole aim was to pump as much as they could out of the country.

Neither the Russian nor the foreign capitalists had any intention of improving the conditions in which the workers lived and laboured. They knew that thousands and tens of thousands of unemployed were always on hand to take the place of the workers who were killed, maimed, or too exhausted to carry on. Back-breaking toil took a great toll of workers' lives. The huge cemeteries near each of the mines in the Donbas stand in mute

evidence of the horror of those days. The hundreds of crosses show the price at which the fabulous profits of the Russian and foreign capitalist oppressors and enslavers of the working people were made.

* * *

The Russian worker could not dream of giving his children an education. That was the privilege of the rich. In Europe, Lenin wrote, "Russia is the only remaining country where the masses of the people are so savagely robbed of education, light and knowledge."

A guide entitled *Cities of Russia*, published in 1910, tells us that Moscow had 15 theatres, 16 libraries, three "public clubs," and a circus. In addition, there were 416 churches, 46 chapels, 62 belfries, 247 state-operated wine shops, 291 taverns, 360 wine cellars and 789 beerhalls.

Tsarism shackled the workers' striving for enlightenment and was afraid to make education accessible to the common people. We know of a case where a peasant woman sent a petition to Alexander III, asking him to give her son the opportunity of going to high school. The resolution of the tsar read: "It is shocking that a muzhik should want to go to high school."

The "public clubs" and temperance societies were among the instruments with which the Russian bourgeoisie suppressed the class-consciousness of the workers and distracted them from the revolutionary struggle.

Like education, recreation was the prerogative of the privileged classes—the capitalists, landlords, merchants and so forth.

The exploiters did all they could to keep the popular masses in ignorance and darkness and in absolute submis-

sion. Indeed, what recreation could the workers think of when their families, which usually consisted of five or six persons, had to live on 30 or 50 kopeks a day? That was hardly enough for rye bread and salt.

Here is how Maxim Gorky described the cheerless leisure of the workers in his famous novel *Mother*:

"The young people went to the taverns or to their friends' houses, where they played the accordion, sang ribald songs, danced, swore and got drunk. Worn out as they were by hard work, the drink quickly went to their heads, and some unaccountable irritation rankled in their breasts, demanding an outlet."

Factory owners, agents of the management and the bribed police set the Russian workers on the Tatars, and the Tatars on the Ukrainians, and mass fights were staged on every holiday. Jewish pogroms broke out not infrequently. This was another means by which the factory and mill-owners hoped to distract the working people from the struggle against the tsarist autocracy, against the exploiters.

The extraordinarily difficult position of the Russian workers spurred them on to begin an organized struggle against the capitalists already in the seventies and eighties of the last century. Agreeing among themselves, they presented demands to their employers or staged strikes. These strikes were called because of the inordinate fines, the swindling that was practised in the payment of wages, and the efforts to lengthen the already long working day. During some of the first strikes, the workers, driven to exasperation, smashed machinery and damaged offices and shops.

The Russian proletariat had no political rights, not even the most elementary of civil freedoms. Meetings, pro-

cessions and demonstrations were prohibited. Workers who went out into the streets to demand political freedoms, employment and bread were dispersed by the police and troops, sometimes with bullets.

In 1897, by their self-sacrificing struggle, the workers forced the government to promulgate a law setting the length of the working day at not more than eleven and a half hours. But even then the autocracy remained true to itself: the same law gave factory and mill-owners the right to compel workers to work overtime without any limit. In effect, the situation in which the capitalists could arbitrarily lengthen the working day was not changed.

* * *

In the long years of struggle against oppression by tsarism, capitalists and landlords, the proletariat of Russia gave the world an example of solidarity, courage, heroism, and unbounded loyalty to the interests of their people.

But until the working class gave birth to its own organization in the shape of a revolutionary party, this struggle neither was nor could be successful. It was only in the course of the revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat under the leadership of its party that the conditions were created for uniting the scattered, separate national-liberation movements into a far-reaching general democratic movement headed by the Russian working class, which was the most progressive, consistent and resolute champion of democracy, socialism and freedom of all the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia.

The Bolshevik Party rallied all the workers and brought organization into the strike movement, into the struggle

of the entire working class. It taught the workers that freedom and a better life could be won only by an organized struggle aimed at overthrowing the rule of the exploiters and establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the plan Lenin drew up at the close of the 1890's for building up a party of the working class, special importance was attached to setting up an organization of professional revolutionaries. Here is what Lenin wrote in the first issue of the illegal newspaper *Iskra*:

"No class has ever achieved supremacy without putting forward its own political leaders, its foremost representatives, able to organize the movement and lead it. And the Russian working class has already shown that it can put forward such men: the widespread struggle of the Russian workers in the past five or six years has shown what a tremendous revolutionary force lies latent in the working class and that the most out-and-out persecution by the government does not reduce but increases the number of workers aspiring to socialism, to political consciousness, and to political struggle."

The history of the revolutionary movement in Russia contains the names of many outstanding workers who became champions of the people. Courageous and selfless, these men instilled in their comrades a will to fight for justice and freedom. They explained the situation to their fellow workers, taught in workers' circles, set up organizations at factories and plants and in towns and villages, worked as type-setters and printers in secret printshops, wrote leaflets and proclamations, guided political strikes and demonstrations, and were in the vanguard of the popular masses during revolutionary uprisings.

The revolutionary working-class movement of Russia produced remarkable leaders, fearless fighters for the

workers' cause. In 1878, two of these men, Stepan Khalturin and Viktor Obnorsky, organized the Northern League of Russian Workers in Petersburg. The programme of this League stated that its ultimate aim was to bring about a socialist revolution—"the overthrow of the existing, unjust political and economic system of government."

The consciousness that the social system was unjust, the incredibly difficult conditions of labour, and the monstrous fines induced Pyotr Moiseyenko, a leading worker who was formerly a member of the Northern League of Russian Workers, to undertake to organize and head a strike at the Morozov Mills in Orekhovo-Zuyevo in 1885. A man with revolutionary experience, Moiseyenko gathered together a group of workers and, jointly with the more class-conscious weavers and dyers, presented the mill-owner, Morozov, with demands in behalf of all the workers. Troops were called out. Hundreds of strikers were arrested and scores were arraigned before the tsarist court.

Another outstanding working-class revolutionary, Ivan Babushkin, helped to organize strikes, convene meetings of workers' representatives, draw up demands, and write appeals to the workers.

People like Babushkin were called national heroes by Lenin. They were men, who had devoted themselves body and soul to the struggle to emancipate the working class, men who did not waste themselves on futile acts of terrorism, but worked doggedly and steadfastly among the working-class masses, helping to develop their class-consciousness, organization and revolutionary activity.

Many real revolutionaries were reared on the eve of the first Russian revolution by the Bolshevik Party,

which was created by the great Lenin. They headed the armed class struggle against the tsarist autocracy when the crisis advanced, when the revolution broke out, when millions and millions of people joined in. All that was won from the tsarist autocracy was the result of the struggle waged by the popular masses under the leadership of the working class's genuinely revolutionary party, the party of Bolsheviks.

Through participation in the struggle, the workers acquired revolutionary experience and prepared themselves for the first Russian revolution of 1905. The revolutionary movement of the working class activized the peasantry as well.

The tsarist police imprisoned and exiled revolutionary workers, peasants and students. But repressions could no longer halt the approach of the revolutionary storm.

In 1905, together with their fathers and elder brothers, the progressive youth shared in the strikes and in the clashes with the police and troops, accumulating experience in the class struggle. Young workers, men and women, who joined underground Bolshevik organizations displayed courage and selflessness in the fight against the tsarist autocracy. Subsequently, many of them became prominent in the affairs of the Communist Party.

The Soviets, a new form of government in which the power is wielded by the proletariat, came into being in the revolutionary years of 1905-07. On May 12, 1905, the weavers of Ivanovo declared a general strike. They elected their deputies to the City Soviet, which was one of the first Soviets in Russia. Two-thirds of the deputies were Bolsheviks.

Like the Paris Commune, the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Soviet functioned for 72 days. The workers were not de-

feated: hunger compelled them to call off the strike. But the struggle went on.

The Bolsheviks led the toiling masses of Russia through the blaze of three revolutions—from the barricades of 1905 to the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, which put an end to the autocracy, and then to the great October storm, which established the rule of the Soviets.

The exploiting classes, which wielded power in Russia prior to the October upheaval, fettered the strength of the people, dooming them to poverty, and the whole country—to backwardness. They gave foreign capitalists control over the most important branches of the national economy. The criminal policy of the tsarist autocracy and then of the bourgeois Provisional Government, which continued the imperialist war against the will of the people, brought Russia to the brink of catastrophe. The country was saved by the working class, which, led by the Communist Party, seized power for the first time in history.

THE WORKING CLASS—THE MAKER OF SOCIALIST ECONOMY

Taking the political power into their hands, the working class headed the labour campaign of the people to eliminate Russia's backwardness and poverty and create the economic foundation of the new, socialist state.

The first decrees of the Soviet Government—the decrees on peace, on land, and others—conformed with the aspirations and hopes of broad masses of the working people. Private ownership of land was abolished without

compensation on the very same day that Soviet power was established and the land was handed over to the peasants for their free use. Soon the banks, railways, and enterprises of the iron and steel, oil, coal, machine-building, textile, chemical and other major branches of industry were nationalized.

Lenin called upon all workers, all citizens of the Land of Soviets to guard as the apple of their eye all that from then on belonged wholly to the people—the land, factories, plants, and the transport. In order to put down sabotage on the part of hostile elements, the Council of People's Commissars put all the factories under the control of the workers. Without the permission of its representatives no factory or plant could be closed down and no change could be made in the production processes. Control was exercised by men and women workers elected at general meetings.

In the period from the close of 1917 to the middle of 1918, the Soviet Government took steps to break the economic power of the bourgeoisie. The old state apparatus, which had faithfully carried out the will of the capitalists and landlords, was destroyed, and a new, Soviet apparatus was set up. A Supreme Council of the National Economy was created to manage industry. A decree was issued on the creation of a Red Army and Fleet, and the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Counter-Revolution and Sabotage was organized. The result of these and other measures was that Soviet power consolidated its position within the country.

At that time the country was in a state of war with Germany and Austria. Before the independence of the Land of Soviets could be fully consolidated, it was necessary to end the war and the accompanying devastation,

and to give the people the conditions for peaceful, constructive labour.

In accordance with the wishes of the popular masses, the Council of People's Commissars offered the belligerent states immediately to stop military operations and to conclude peace without annexations and indemnities. The Entente (Britain, France and other countries) declined the offer, with the result that the Soviet Government entered into independent peace negotiations with Germany and Austria-Hungary.

However, because of Trotsky's obnoxious treachery the peace negotiations were broken off and German troops invaded the Soviet Republic and threatened Petrograd.

In response to the appeal of the Communist Party, the working class urgently raised units of the Red Army. The advance of the enemy against Petrograd was stopped thanks to the staunchness and courage of the gallant defenders of the Soviet Republic. The German invaders received a decisive rebuff near Narva and Pskov. The day that happened, February 23, 1918, is regarded as the birthday of the valiant Red Army.

The defeat of the German invaders by the Red Army made it possible to complete the peace negotiations. In order to strengthen Soviet rule and create powerful armed forces which would be able to defend the country, the Party and the working class were compelled to accept the severe terms of the Brest peace.

The Brest peace gave the Communist Party, the working class the opportunity not only of preserving but also of strengthening Soviet rule and of retaining the support of the peasant masses and raising them to the struggle against economic ruin.

At that time, Lenin said that the respite should be used to the maximum to build up the Soviet national economy. The Bolshevik Party, Lenin wrote, had convinced Russia, had won her from the rich for the poor, and now had to learn to administer her. Lenin held that the most important tasks of those days were to keep an account of all that was being produced and to control the disposal of these products, to tighten up on labour discipline in industry and to strengthen the cost-accounting system, to eliminate wage-equalization, to introduce piece-rates, and to start a socialist emulation movement. All these tasks are outlined by Lenin in his book *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Power.*

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The first successes of Soviet economic construction, the consolidation of Soviet rule, fanned the hatred of the imperialists of America, Britain, France, Japan and other countries. The capitalists of all countries began to muster the forces of the Russian counter-revolution. They placed former tsarist generals in command of the Whiteguard units and detachments. They organized uprisings and acts of sabotage.

The country was surrounded by a blazing ring of fronts. English and French troops occupied Arkhangelsk and Murmansk. The Japanese and American interventionists occupied the Primorye region. German troops occupied the Ukraine. The North Caucasus and the Kuban area were in the hands of the Whiteguard armies of Krasnov and Denikin. General Yudenich was advancing against Petrograd. Admiral Kolchak was mustering a huge Whiteguard army in Siberia. Baron Wrangel established himself in

the Crimea. The central regions of the country were cut off from the chief sources of raw material and fuel—the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Urals, Siberia and the Far East. The kulaks, who had large stocks of grain, refused to sell it at government prices. The population was experiencing an acute shortage of the most vital necessities. There were times when in Moscow and Petrograd the daily bread ration fell to as low as 50 grams. Famine stared people in the face. There was no fuel. Many factories and plants had to close down because there was no raw material.

In spite of famine and devastation, the people working in the rear kept supplying the Red Army with arms and equipment. Both at the front and in the rear the working people fought for their right to a free life. Though their privations had no precedent in history, the workers, men and women, did all in their power to get the factories and plants to work normally in the face of the blockade.

In the towns near the front lines, the workers were frequently compelled to leave the factories and plants and rise to the defence of the gains of the Revolution. The workers' detachments became the nucleus of new units of the Red Army. Hundreds and thousands of young workers joined the regiments and divisions and, like their fathers and elder brothers, dauntlessly went into battle. The Soviet youth, with the Y.C.L. at its head, added many a remarkable page to the history of the struggle for their socialist Motherland against foreign interventionists and the Whiteguards.

In May 1919, when the decisive battles of the Civil war were being fought, the workers of the Moscow-Kazan Railway responded to Lenin's call to work in a revolution-

ary manner and organized the first voluntary workday. On Saturdays they worked overtime without remuneration. The keynotes of this movement were enthusiasm and selflessness.

During this first voluntary workday, the workers nearly trebled their usual daily quota. Everybody was eager to do his bit—railwaymen, office workers, management staffs and workers of auxiliary enterprises. Everybody felt the joy of collective labour. And the thought in every mind was: "No, Kolchak, Denikin and the rest of the counter-revolutionaries will never strangle our free republic of working men!" When the work was done, hundreds of Communists and non-Party workers sang the *Internationale* in a rush of emotion.

In these voluntary workdays Lenin saw the shoots of a communist attitude to work. The voluntary workdays were the initiative of workers to raise labour productivity, to go over to a new labour discipline. "In the last analysis," Lenin wrote in his article *A Great Beginning*, "productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system... If in starving Moscow in the summer of 1919, the starving workers who had gone through four trying years of imperialist war and another year and a half of still more trying Civil War could start this great work, how will it develop when we triumph in the Civil War and secure peace?"

Lenin said that this remarkable initiative showed the main qualities of the working class—fortitude, insistence, resolution and ability to test and correct things over and over again and to achieve the goal at all costs—qualities which the working class cultivated in itself for scores of years before the Great October Socialist Revolu-

tion and in the course of two years after it, enduring unheard-of privations, famine and ruin. Lenin was confident that these qualities of the working class were a guarantee that it would triumph.

The voluntary workday movement spread throughout the country. The initiative of the railwaymen of Moscow was taken up by young people in the Urals. They organized a "labour month." Young metal-makers voluntarily added from two to four hours to their working day and gave the Army what it needed.

From voluntary workdays, the working class later passed on to mass socialist emulation, to a movement of shock workers, to a nation-wide movement to raise the productivity of labour.

* * *

In 1920, the Civil War and the struggle against the foreign invaders were nearing a triumphant close. The time had come to embark upon peaceful construction.

The national economy of those days presented a gloomy picture. The country was ruined by the world war. During the Civil War, industry broke down completely. With few exceptions, the factories and plants were idle and the mines were destroyed. Compared with 1913, the production figures for 1920 were: coal—only 30 per cent, pig-iron—2.7 per cent, cotton fabrics—5 per cent. In the same period, agriculture produced 41 per cent less grain.

But the power was in the hands of the working class, of people of labour. Full of inexhaustible energy, they were not depressed. They were sure that with their toil-hardened hands they would be able to rehabilitate the

country and bear up to the incredible difficulties. The preparations to launch industrial enterprises helped them to show their ability as organizers of production. Shouldering the responsibility at their various factories, they strove to justify the confidence placed in them, to get their enterprises to work normally and to squash the efforts of the enemies of the people to hinder the country's rejuvenation.

The wisdom and foresight of the Communist Party found expression in the transition to a new economic policy, which, on the one hand, ensured a lasting alliance between the working class and the peasantry and, on the other, laid the foundation for creating a socialist industry. The Party knew that that was the only way of completely eliminating capitalist elements and securing the victory of socialism in all spheres of the national economy.

When the country was still locked in struggle against the foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution, Lenin drew up a plan of restoring and transforming the national economy. This plan provided for the restoration and development of the heavy industry and for the building of a technical base for the national economy, agriculture included. When Lenin spoke of this base he had electrification in mind. Communism, he said, is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country.

Lenin's plan of electrification set the working class the unprecedented task of fundamentally transforming the country within ten or fifteen years. Many people thought that could never be done. H. G. Wells, the author of famous scientific romances, called it the "electrical utopia." But it was no utopia. It was a realistic calculation of the country's strength and potentials, a profound faith

in the infinite creative abilities of a people freed from the fetters of capitalism. History has shown how real Lenin's plan was.

The workers responded to the Party's call to return to their factories and workbenches. But it was no easy task to breathe life into factories and plants that had been destroyed by the war. For a time, skilled metal-workers, railwaymen and miners became loaders and labourers. They put the factory premises in order, brought fuel and raw materials to them and repaired spur tracks.

The first care of the working class was to liquidate the acute fuel shortage in the country. They had to bring the Donbas to life. From all parts of the country, thousands of Y.C.L. members went to work in the mines. They disregarded the food shortage and theirs was a tremendous contribution towards the rehabilitation of the coal industry of the South. By December 1921, thanks to superhuman efforts, the monthly output of each miner averaged 58.8 tons of coal or three and a half tons more than before the war.

Enormous difficulties had to be surmounted by the working class before the factories and plants, blast-furnaces and open-hearth furnaces, and mines were restored. That was a heroic page in the history of the labour of millions of Soviet people.

The heroism of those days is reflected in literature.

Take Fyodor Gladkov's novel *Cement*. The hero of the novel, Gleb Chumalov, a worker and Bolshevik, returns to his factory from the Army and is staggered by the sight of the devastated workshops and by the way the workers lived. To earn their livelihood they made cigarette-lighters. With the energy of a Bolshevik, Chumalov set about restoring the factory.

"Enough!" he said to the workers. "Look at what the factory has become. It's more like a cattle yard.... That won't do, comrades! Let's find a way out of the situation."

Another example is Nikolai Ostrovsky's novel *How the Steel Was Tempered.* The hero, Pavel Korchagin, a young worker, fights for the establishment of Soviet rule and after the victory actively shares in creative labour.

...A Ukrainian town, which had been laid waste by the enemy, was left without fuel. There was neither coal nor firewood in the hospitals, schools and industrial enterprises. The young people decided to build a narrow-gauge railway from the station to the forest. In severe frost, fighting off bandits, the young workers, with Pavel Korchagin among them, built the vital road and ensured the city with fuel. The enthusiasts knew that it was nearly impossible to build a railway in winter, but they also realized that it had to be built.

Later, working in the railway workshops, Pavel Korchagin fought against slipshodness. Young workers stayed behind after work to tidy up their workshop. The author shows how they gradually reached a turning-point in their attitude to state property and labour discipline.

The country was rising from ruin. The rebirth of industry promoted the growth and accumulation of the strength of the working class. Beginning with 1922, the number of workers in the large-scale industry grew steadily. In 1925-26, that number stood at 2,678,000. Labour productivity grew continuously. In the mining industry it increased 4.3 times; in the metal-working and paper industries—2.5 times; in the chemical and silicate industries—2.1 times.

In the course of five years, from 1921 to 1925, the volume of industrial output increased 4.9 times, and in 1926 it came close to the pre-war level. The gross grain harvest exceeded 48 million tons, which was an increase of nearly 65 per cent. The freight turnover of the railways rose by more than 4 times.

The country of working men showed the whole world what tremendous potentials are opened by the Soviet, truly people's, social system. Mankind could see that the working class, which felt itself not only as a class that was creating but also as a class that was guiding the country, was capable of wonders.

* * *

At the height of the struggle to rehabilitate the country, the Soviet people were overtaken by great grief. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great founder of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, died. The wise leader and teacher of the working people no longer breathed. The sad news about the painful, irreparable loss shook millions of people.

In informing the Party and all working people of the death of the great leader, the Central Committee of the Communist Party wrote:

"Everything that is truly great and heroic in the proletariat—fearless intellect, an iron, unyielding, dogged and all-conquering will, a sacred hatred, a hatred unto death of slavery and oppression, a revolutionary passion which moves mountains, an unbounded faith in the creative strength of the masses, and a tremendous genius for organization—found splendid embodiment in Lenin,

whose name has become the symbol of the new world from east to west, from north to south."

The working class rallied still closer around the Bolshevik Party, which Lenin had fostered. More than 240,000 foremost workers joined its ranks. They comprised what history knows as the Lenin Enrolment. Millions of Soviet people pledged to give all their strength to the cause of the Communist Party and implement Lenin's plan of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. This plan envisaged the country's industrialization and electrification, the cooperation of agriculture, the carrying out of a cultural revolution, the development of the economy and culture of all the Soviet peoples, and the promotion of the nation-wide socialist emulation movement.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people quickly raised industrial output to the pre-war level. But that was a level of a backward country. Socialism needed a machine-building industry. The industry of old Russia could in no way satisfy the growing requirements of the Soviet people and provide the means of defence against attack.

The Party and the working class were faced with the urgent problem of transforming the Soviet Union into an industrial country, which would be economically independent of the capitalist states. The solution was found. The 14th Congress of the Communist Party, held in December 1925, steered a course towards socialist industrialization.

It was necessary to reconstruct the entire national economy on an immeasurably stronger technical basis, to create many hitherto non-existent branches of industry, to build big, modern machine-building, machine-tool building, chemical, automobile, aircraft-building, and

iron and steel works, to start the production of engines and equipment for power stations, and sharply to increase the output of coal, ore, oil and metal.

Before socialism could triumph in the countryside it was necessary to give agriculture a powerful material and technical base. The country had to build tractor works and factories producing modern agricultural machines. The working class realized full well that a powerful heavy industry, which would be independent of the capitalist countries, would be an earnest of the economic and military might of the socialist state and the basis of a continuous improvement of the people's welfare.

Tremendous means were needed in order to implement the policy of industrialization. The capitalist countries had developed their heavy industry by robbing colonies, by forcing defeated peoples to pay indemnities, by taking loans and by cruelly exploiting the working people. That was no road for the Soviet state. It used its inner resources which were created through the nationalization of the means of production. They were the profits from factories and plants, the transport, the post and telegraph, and trade. Another inner source was strict economy of means and materials.

Soviet industrial output registered an unprecedented rise already during the first years of industrialization. In 1927, the output of the large-scale industry rose by 18 per cent in comparison with the preceding year. Agricultural production exceeded the pre-war level, but there was the danger that the output of marketable grain would fall off. That meant that the Army and the growing working class would be doomed to chronic famine.

The only way that the situation in the country could be changed was to pass to large-scale agricultural produc-

tion, where full use could be made of scientific methods of farming, and of tractors and other modern machines, which would rapidly increase the output of grain. In 1927, the Communist Party proclaimed the policy of collectivization, of uniting small peasant households into large socialist farms. The 15th Congress of the Communist Party has gone into the country's history as the congress of collectivization.

The successes scored in developing the national economy made it possible to organize further construction on the basis of a specified state plan calculated for a few years in advance. The 15th Congress issued the directive to draft the First Five-Year Plan of Development of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R. This plan was approved by the 16th Conference of the Communist Party, held in April 1929.

This plan envisaged a far-going transformation of the country's entire national economy by equipping the socialist industry and agriculture with the most up-to-date machinery. The principal target of the five-year plan was to create an industry which would be able to re-equip and reorganize not only industry as a whole, but also transport and agriculture on the basis of socialism. Under the plan, the government intended to invest 64,600 million rubles into the national economy, in other words, to spend an average of 35 million rubles daily on capital construction.

The First Five-Year Plan was enthusiastically received by the working class and the entire Soviet people. The country began to build and reconstruct hundreds of industrial enterprises. What was then the biggest power station in Europe, the Dnieper Hydropower Station, was erected on the Dnieper River near Zaporozhye. In the Donbas, workshops were built at the Kramatorsk and

Gorlovka machine-building plants, and new blast-furnaces, open-hearth furnaces and mines were commissioned. The country extended its second biggest coal and metallurgical base in the East. In the Urals, construction was started on the Urals Machine-Building Works and on the Berezniki and Solikamsk chemical plants. At the foot of Mount Magnitnaya, where droves of half-wild Kirghiz horses had grazed for centuries, the people began to build the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Works. Huge automobile factories rose in Moscow and in Gorky. A giant factory producing agricultural machines was built in Rostov-on-Don. The big Stalingrad Tractor Works grew up in the Stalingrad steppes in the course of eleven months.

The whole country was dressed in timbering. Small towns, which were not even marked on maps, grew into important industrial centres. In the course of four years—from 1927 to 1930— —323 enterprises were built and put in operation. The year 1931 alone witnessed the commissioning of 518 large enterprises.

To show what sort of enterprises these were let us compare their output capacity with the capacity of the pre-revolutionary factories: in tsarist Russia, the total annual output of all factories producing agricultural machines amounted to 60 million rubles; while in the years after the Revolution, 115 million rubles' worth of machinery was put out annually by the new Rostov Agricultural Machinery Works alone.

United and led by the Communist Party, the Soviet people marched forward inexorably, surmounting inconceivable difficulties, breaking down all obstacles, casting out capitulators, grumblers, sceptics and cowards, and setting remarkable examples of staunchness, organization and inspired labour.

The first teams of shock workers sprang up on the initiative of young workers, members of the Y.C.L., at enterprises in Leningrad, Moscow, the Urals and the Donbas in the period between the close of 1926 and the beginning of 1927. These teams set examples of a responsible attitude to labour. This attitude grew and strengthened among the working class which spared no efforts to fulfil the plan of industrialization.

The First Five-Year Plan was carried out in four years and three months. The country took a tremendous economic and cultural leap forward. From a backward, agrarian country, it developed into a leading industrial and collective-farm power, with a mighty technical base for the transformation of the entire national economy on socialist lines. Towards the end of the First Five-Year Plan (1932), industrial output was more than three times greater than in 1913, and 2.3 times greater than in the year the five-year plan was started.

Many branches of industry, such as tractor-building, automobile-building, chemical, machine-tool building and aircraft-building, were created anew.

Big power stations were placed in service. The country's power producing capacity rose to 4,700,000 kilowatts and was 4.3 times higher than in 1913. The annual power output amounted to almost 13,500 million kilowatt-hours or 7 times more than in tsarist Russia.

Towards the end of the First Five-Year Plan the Soviet Union became one of the world's leading producers of electric power, oil products and coal.

By 1932, there were 22,600,000 workers and office employees. Particular note must be made of the fact that during the First Five-Year Plan period the working class not only grew numerically but also changed qualita-

tively. Its political and cultural level as well as its production qualifications rose to a higher plane. In those years the working class gave birth to its own technical intelligentsia. Hundreds of thousands of workers graduated from technical colleges and higher educational establishments and became engineers and heads of enterprises and offices.

Those years were also marked by great changes in the national composition of the working class of the U.S.S.R. The industrial enterprises in the Union and autonomous republics began to draw ever larger numbers of workers from among the indigenous population. The rapid increase in national cadres of skilled workers is vivid testimony of the correctness of Lenin's national policy, which ensured an unprecedented bloom of the productive forces of the backward and most oppressed national outskirts of tsarist Russia.

In the years of the First Five-Year Plan the social structure of the country's agriculture changed beyond recognition. Towards the close of 1934, the collective farms became a potent force which united nearly three-fourths of all peasant households and about 90 per cent of all crop areas. Industry helped the countryside tremendously with cadres and agricultural machines. In 1934, agriculture had 281,000 tractors and 32,000 combine harvesters. The triumph of the collective-farm system placed the socialist system of economy in a dominating position in the national economy.

Fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan was an epoch-making victory of the Communist-Party-led working class and peasantry of the U.S.S.R.

* * *

The Second Five-Year Plan, adopted by the 17th Congress of the Communist Party in 1934, was a further major step towards the building of socialism in the country. The chief targets were to complete the technical reconstruction of the entire national economy. It was planned to increase industrial output 8 times compared with the pre-war level. The volume of capital construction under the First Five-Year Plan was to be more than doubled. That guaranteed the over-all technical re-equipment of the national economy.

One of the tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan was to complete the liquidation of capitalist elements.

Thanks to the selfless labour of the Soviet people, the Second Five-Year Plan was likewise fulfilled ahead of time—in four years and three months. By the end of 1937, industry was seven times bigger than before the war, while the number of workers and employees reached the figure of 26,700,000. Collective-farm agriculture, which by this time united 93 per cent of the peasant households, was on the upsurge too. These successes in an unbelievably short space of time were due to the far-sighted and wise policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

During the Second Five-Year Plan period, the emulation and shock-work movements rose to a higher level. A movement of production innovators was started on a nation-wide scale. It broke down the old output quotas and workers began to overfulfil their production targets many times over. The innovators changed and improved production processes and with the same expenditure of labour and materials achieved a sharp increase in output. The average worker of yesterday became an innovator and led others who strove to keep abreast of the foremost workers

This movement was due to the fact that among the workers there were tens of thousands who not only mastered the required minimum of technical knowledge but went beyond that. They rose to the level of engineers and technicians, began to do away with the existing technical norms as obsolete, and introduced new, more up-to-date norms. They squeezed all they could out of the machinery and at the same time transformed it. Hundreds of thousands of foremost workers tirelessly sought new, better and more productive methods of work in order to make labour lighter, more effective and attractive, and to give the country all the products it needed.

This movement marked the beginning of the cultural and technical rise of the working class, ushered in the abolition of the antithesis between mental and physical labour and opened the door to higher labour productivity, which is essential for the transition from socialism to communism.

The result of the fulfilment of the First and Second Five-Year Plans was that socialism was established in the U.S.S.R. The victory of socialism in this country was a historical achievement of the working class, peasantry and working intelligentsia. Guided by the Communist Party, the Soviet people fulfilled the behests of the great Lenin. Russia became a socialist country within a remarkably short space of time and this victory found legislative embodiment in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which was adopted in 1936.

The socialist system triumphed in all spheres of the national economy. The powerful socialist industry completely ousted the capitalist industry. In agriculture, the collective-farm system was victorious. The entire trade turnover was concentrated in the hands of the Soviet state and the cooperative organization. The new

socialist society for ever did away with exploitation of man by man, crises, poverty, unemployment and ruin.

From the moment the five-year plans were started, the Soviet Union set an unparalleled rate of industrial development. It was necessary to overtake and surpass the capitalist countries economically, i. e., in per capita output. That was the only condition under which the country would have all the consumer goods it needed, an abundance of manufactured goods and foodstuffs.

The 18th Congress of the Communist Party steered the country towards the completion of socialist construction and the gradual transition to communism. The congress set the country the task of economically overtaking and surpassing the chief capitalist countries of Europe and the United States of America within the next 10 to 15 years.

It would have been impossible to achieve the principal economic goal had it not been for the further development of the national economy, mainly of the heavy industry, which was even more far-reaching than in the period of the first two five-year plans. The country had to build more factories and to train more cadres for the industry. This required time and the combined efforts of all the people. As before, the working class led the struggle for the fulfilment of the tasks of the Third Five-Year Plan.

During the first three and a half years of the Third Five-Year Plan, the Soviet people built nearly 3,000 factories, plants, mines, power stations and other large enterprises. In 1940, large-scale industry was already putting out 12 times more products than in 1913, while the machine-building industry exceeded the pre-war output figure nearly 50 times.

The country began producing 15 million tons of pig-iron, 18,300,000 tons of steel, 166 million tons of coal, 31 million tons of oil, 38,300,000 tons of marketable grain, and 2,700,000 tons of raw cotton. In 1940, the 1913 figures were topped as follows: pig-iron—nearly 4 times; steel—4.5 times; coal—5.5 times; oil—3.5 times, marketable grain—by 17 million tons; cotton—3.5 times.

The result of the First and Second Five-Year Plans and of three years of the Third Five-Year Plan was that the Soviet Union became a great industrial power.

The selfless labour of millions of Soviet people led to an unparalleled bloom of the country's material forces, to a rapid growth of national prosperity and of the culture of the working people.

The new conditions in the political, economic and cultural life of the land of socialism could not but leave its imprint on the working class. When the working class seized power it stopped being a class of the exploited. It was no longer a proletariat in the old meaning of the word. The working class of the U.S.S.R. became a completely new class. In 1913, workers, employees and their families comprised only 17 per cent of the population of Russia, but in 1937 this percentage rose to 36.2. These figures vividly show how strong the working class has become in the U.S.S.R.

Fundamental changes took place not only among the working class. The old peasantry—a class of petty owners tied to their poverty-stricken farms, dismembered, left to their own devices, and cruelly exploited by the landlords, kulaks and urban bourgeoisie—no longer existed. A new class arose. This was the collective-farm peasantry united in large collective farms resting on the over-all assistance of the state.

The intelligentsia, too, became different. Formerly it was a reliable prop of the gentry-landlord capitalist state, served the needs of the ruling classes and was drawn from them. But from now on, the intelligentsia was of the flesh and blood of the working class and the collective-farm peasantry. The Soviet intelligentsia serves the working class and the peasants, the Soviet state of workers and peasants.

Such new motive forces of Soviet society as moral and political unity, Soviet patriotism, and friendship among peoples, grew and strengthened in the course of the struggle to restore the national economy, industrialize the country, collectivize agriculture, and build socialism. Criticism and self-criticism became a new law governing this country's development.

With the victory of socialism, the interests of the workers and peasants merged. Their common goal was jointly to develop and consolidate the socialist system, to raise the splendid edifice of communism, and work still more fruitfully so that their life would be fuller and more prosperous. The deep-going community of purposes, interests and aspirations of all Soviet people and their solidarity with the Communist Party and Soviet rule form the unshakable foundation of this country's moral and political unity.

The labour exploits of the working people in industry and on the collective-farm fields, the achievements of Soviet scientists, engineers and workers in culture and art inspire and foster vivifying Soviet patriotism, which, in its turn, engenders in Soviet people redoubled creative energy.

Soviet patriotism is not only a feeling of love of country, an attachment to the land of one's forefathers, to the

nature of one's country, people, native language and national culture. It is an operative, active, animating patriotism. It inspires Soviet men and women to serve their socialist country whole-heartedly, to work fruitfully and to perform heroic deeds in the name of their country, for the weal of the entire multi-national Soviet people.

National hostility which had existed for ages was replaced by relations of friendship, trust and mutual understanding. The Russian people, who stand at the head of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, fraternally helped the nations that had been oppressed by tsardom to develop their economy and culture.

Under Soviet rule, all the peoples of this country, every Union republic achieved remarkable successes in economy and culture. Particularly vivid examples of this are such former outskirts of tsarist Russia as Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, Tajikistan and the Transcaucasus. The consistent implementation of Lenin's national policy has resulted in the building everywhere of a mighty socialist industry, in the strengthening of the collective-farm system, and in the training of experienced national cadres. Welded together by fraternal friendship and joint labour for the welfare of the country, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. worked with tremendous enthusiasm in the name of the great cause of communism.

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On June 22, 1941, the peaceful, constructive labour of the Soviet people was cut short by the perfidious attack of the German-fascist army. The Great Patriotic War began. The entire Soviet people took up arms to defend their socialist Motherland.

In fierce combat with a cunning enemy, the Soviet people upheld their freedom and independence and helped the peoples of Europe to free themselves from fascist slavery.

The victory of the Soviet Union over fascist Germany was a victory of the Soviet social and state system, a system which is truly of the people and for the people. It was a victory of the Soviet Army, which stands on guard of the people's interests. In the war, the socialist system of economy showed its indubitable advantages over the capitalist system.

After Hitler Germany's defeat, the Soviet people were faced with the tremendous task of restoring industry, transport and agriculture. Ruins and ashes were all that remained wherever the fascist boot had trampled. The Nazis destroyed, burnt, demolished or pillaged 1,710 cities and towns, more than 70,000 villages, 84,000 schools, technical schools, establishments of higher learning and research institutes, 43,000 libraries, 40,000 hospitals and other medical establishments. Nearly 25 million people were left without homes.

The fascists destroyed thousands of big and small industrial enterprises, 62 blast-furnaces and 213 open-hearth furnaces. If one stops to ponder over these figures one will clearly see how much damage the fascists had inflicted on this country. These enterprises had employed something like four million workers. Agriculture suffered enormous damage. Tens of thousands of collective farms and hundreds of state farms and machine-and-tractor stations were burnt, ruined or looted.

The calculated material loss inflicted by the fascist invaders amounted to 679,000 million rubles.

The magnitude of this sum may be seen, say, from the

fact that in the six-year period between 1946 and 1951 the capital investments in the national economy amounted to 500,000 million rubles, of which 320,000 million were invested in industry. On this money the country built, restored and opened nearly 7,000 big and tens of thousands of medium industrial enterprises.

No capitalist state could have withstood such devastation and such a military and economic strain as the Soviet Union did in the last war. Such a material loss would inevitably have thrown the biggest and the richest capitalist state tens of years back and converted it into a second-rate power.

The reason that did not happen to the Soviet Union was that it is a state of a new type, a socialist state of workers and peasants, which is immeasurably stronger and stabler than any capitalist state can be. The enemies miscalculated when they thought the losses suffered by the Soviet Union would weaken it and make it dependent on the capitalist states. The Soviet Union was and continues to be absolutely independent of the capitalist world both politically and economically.

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The major targets of post-war economic development were outlined in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. They were the rehabilitation of the war-ravaged areas, and the restoration and then a considerable increase over the prewar industrial and agricultural output level.

To achieve that the country had to embark upon large-scale development of the heavy industry, particularly of the iron and steel, electric power and fuel industries. The restoration and further development of the national econ-

omy could not be promoted without a heavy industry. The country also had to restore and develop agriculture and extend the output of consumer goods.

The Soviet people set out to fulfil the first post-war five-year plan with their inherent energy and tremendous labour enthusiasm. The socialist emulation movement for pre-schedule fulfilment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan opened up unlimited opportunities for the creative initiative of workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia. Millions of workers of factories and plants, collective and state farms brought to light new ways of raising labour productivity, increasing output, saving raw and other materials and electric power. They re-examined the existing norms, changed and improved the organization of labour and the technology of production, and technically enhanced production processes. The socialist emulation movement was a great force stimulating the advance of Soviet national economy.

The results of the post-war five-year plan in the leading branches of socialist industry showed the unparalleled growth of the Soviet Union's might. In 1950, industrial output was 73 per cent greater than in 1940 or 17 per cent higher than was envisaged by the plan. The output of ferrous metals, coal and oil exceeded the pre-war level by 45, 57 and 22 per cent respectively. The amount of steel produced over and above plan in the last year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan was more than half the pre-revolutionary output.

Successful fulfilment of the post-war five-year plan was the basis for a rapid improvement of living standards. Food rationing, which was introduced during the war, was abolished already in 1947. Retail prices of manufactured goods and foodstuffs were reduced systematically.

In 1950, the national income was double the figure called for by the five-year plan. The incomes of the factory, office and other workers and of the collective farmers increased substantially.

During the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1951-55) the rate of growth of industrial output achieved during the years of the preceding five-year plan was substantially exceeded. What in pre-war times took the Soviet Union five or ten years to produce, was now put out in one or two years.

In 1955, the number of industrial, office and other workers was more than 48 million against the 12.9 million in 1913.

In total volume of industrial output, the Fifth Five-Year Plan had been completed by May 1, 1955, i. e., in four years and four months. By scoring this major industrial victory, the working class of the Soviet Union again showed the world that its concern is to strengthen the economic might of its socialist Motherland.

Output is steadily increasing. In the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, the per capita output of pig-iron increased by 60 per cent, of steel—by 52 per cent, of coal— by 37 per cent, of oil—by 72 per cent, of electric power—by 71 per cent, of cotton textiles—by 40 per cent, of woollen textiles—by 48 per cent, and of sugar—by 24 per cent.

In towns and workers' settlements, the year 1955 alone witnessed the construction of dwelling houses with a total floor space of 376 million square feet; 600,000 houses were built in rural localities that same year. Other building projects included hospitals with a total of more than 60,000 beds, permanently functioning nursery schools with accommodation for over 45,000 children, and sanatoriums and holiday homes for 14,000 vacationers. Com-

pared with 1954, there were 157,000 more children in schools and 135,000 more students in establishments of higher learning. Newspapers and magazines increased their circulation. The total edition of books topped the 1,000 million mark.

In 1914, Russia had 12,600 libraries; in 1955 their number exceeded 390,000. There were 222 clubs in 1914 and more than 120,000 in 1955.

That same year, higher and secondary special educational establishments gave the country nearly 640,000 young specialists or 70,000 more than in 1954. A total of over 1,121,000 specialists were trained during the Fifth Five-Year Plan period. It should be borne in mind that prior to the Great Patriotic War, Soviet institutions of higher learning trained 100,000-110,000 specialists annually, while before the Revolution the number of students graduating higher schools was not more than 10,000 a year. Today, there are more students in the Soviet Union than in Britain, France, Italy and other capitalist countries of Western Europe.

The national income is, of course, the best indication of economic development and the growth of public wealth. Under socialism, the entire national income belongs to the people. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan period, the Soviet national income rose by 68 per cent and the real wages of industrial, office and other workers and the incomes of the collective farmers increased by 39 and 50 per cent respectively.

The increasing output and higher labour productivity is resulting in a steady growth of the national income and of the incomes of the working people.

In this country, direct incomes and price levels are not all that determines the living standard. Soviet people are

ensured with free medical assistance and education. Industrial, office and other workers receive annual vacations with full pay, social insurance grants and benefits, pensions, and passes to health resorts and holiday homes at a discount or free of charge. Mothers of large families and unmarried mothers receive state grants. All these benefits and allowances are increasing in proportion to the growth of the country's economic might.

The country took another long step towards the transition from socialism to communism when it embarked upon the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The chief tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the resolution of the 20th Congress states, are to ensure, by priority development of heavy industry, steady technical progress and higher labour productivity, a further far-reaching expansion of all branches of the national economy and a sharp increase in agricultural output and, on this basis, to achieve a substantial rise in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people.

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Proceeding from the principal tasks facing the Party and the Soviet people, the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union underlined the absolute necessity of continuing to ensure the priority growth of the heavy industry, which is the basis for the development of all branches of socialist economy and for raising the welfare of the people. At the same time, in this country, which now has a first-class heavy industry, there are all the conditions necessary for rapidly expanding the output of consumer goods and developing all branches of the light and food industries.

The Soviet Union, the 20th Party Congress pointed out,

has all the means with which, on the basis of peaceful economic competition, to solve its cardinal economic task of overtaking and surpassing the leading capitalist countries in per capita output within a historically short space of time.

The Communist Party is organizing the labour offensive of the Soviet people on a wide front embracing both industry and agriculture. It is accumulating strength for a more resolute and rapid advance. The first five-year plans laid emphasis on industrial development chiefly in the European part of the country. The years of the Second World War witnessed a considerable industrial expansion in the Urals, Western Siberia and Central Asia.

Huge factories, which turned out everything that the Army needed to beat the enemy, were built in those areas. Today, major construction work is moving farther and farther eastwards. The working class has launched a great labour offensive in the vast expanses between the Urals and the shores of the Pacific.

Hundreds of industrial enterprises were placed in operation in 1956, the first year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan period. A blast-furnace was built in Dnieprodzerzhinsk in record time, and another large blast-furnace began to work in Chelyabinsk. The Kuibyshev Hydropower Station received its eleventh turbine. The Irkutsk Hydropower Station began to generate electricity. These are only a few from a long list!

The following figures show the scale achieved by industry. Compared with 1913, industrial output has increased 30 times. The capacity of the machine-building and metal-working industries has increased 180 times, while the output of electric power has increased nearly 100 times. Here is another comparison. In 1956, total

industrial output grew by 11 per cent compared with the preceding year. This increase alone was more than three times the annual output of all factories and plants in tsarist Russia. The 1956 harvest was the highest in this country's history.

Forty years is a very short span in the life of a people and society. Yet tremendous, unrivalled changes have taken place in the life of the Soviet people and throughout the whole world under the beneficial influence and direct inducement of Great October.

In Soviet years, the peoples of this country put an end to economic and cultural backwardness in all spheres of life, built up a mighty socialist industry and a large-scale mechanized agriculture, and achieved unparalleled heights in science, engineering, culture, literature and art. Within a brief historical period the Soviet Union stepped into second place in the world for the level of industrial output, far outpacing such major capitalist countries as Britain and France.

The economic successes scored by the Soviet Union are the basis for the continuous rise of the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. The rapid growth of the national income, which registered a 13-fold per capita rise in the period from 1913 to 1956, is testimony of the people's increasing prosperity. For the sake of comparison, we can point to the fact that in the U.S.A. the national income for the same period increased less than twice, while in Britain and France—only 1.6 times. Never before has a national income grown so rapidly.

Housing is receiving priority consideration.

The further, truly colossal task of relieving the country's housing shortage within the next ten or twelve years was set in a recent decision of the Central Committee of the

C.P.S.U. and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers. State housing development in 1956-60 will amount to 2,313 million square feet. That means that in five years six such cities as Moscow will be built. In addition, individual housing development in towns, urban settlements, machine-and-tractor stations, state farms and lumber camps envisages the building of 1,076 million square feet of floor space within the same period. Many houses will be built by collective farmers and the rural intelligentsia.

Construction work has changed fundamentally in recent years. Industrial methods are becoming more and more widespread.

The country has given builders all the machinery necessary to carry out the big tasks facing them. A powerful building industry has been set up.

The creation of hundreds of factories producing reinforced-concrete sections and parts has made it possible sharply to step up assembly work, reduce the expenditure of labour and to cut building schedules. Mechanization is covering arduous and labour-consuming processes as well as building and assembly work on a growing scale. Soviet architects and designers have produced standard plans of economical buildings for schools, hospitals, clubs, cinemas and dwelling houses. That opens up real possibilities for switching to mass, line-production methods of building.

Five- and four-storied dwelling houses are now being commissioned within 130-150 days.

In the first six months of 1957 alone, the working people received 96 million square feet of floor space or 36 per cent more than in the first six months of the preceding year.

No less eloquent are the following figures which show the dynamic expansion of housing construction in the Soviet Union (in millions of square feet):

1918-28	*1929-32*	*1933-37*	*1938-45*	*1946-50*	*1951-55]*
461.6	416.4	454	987.8	1,106	1,632

Many towns have been built since 1926. These include Karaganda Magnitogorsk, Komsomolsk-on-Amur, Stalinogorsk, Electrostal, Angarsk, Norilsk, Magadan, Balkhash, Zhigulevsk, Krasnouralsk, Sumgait, Mednogorsk, Kohtla-Järve, Igarka, Novaya Kakhovka and Bratsk.

Altogether, 618 towns were built in the Soviet Union in the period between 1926 and 1957, while the number of town-type settlements increased by 1,175.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government are taking every measure to improve the life and labour conditions of workers and to protect the health and promote the welfare of the working people.

In 1957, the wages of low-paid workers and employees were raised by approximately 33 per cent.

The working day on Saturdays and on the eve of holidays has been shortened by two hours, while a six-hour working day has been established for juveniles between the ages of 16 and 18, and for miners. Preparations are being made to introduce a 40-hour week for all industrial, office and other workers without any reduction in pay.

Soviet people are well aware that what has been achieved in raising the standard of living is by far not the limit.

Industry is being constantly re-equipped with the latest machines which make for greater labour productivity. First and foremost, this concerns powerful, high-speed

machines for large-scale work. The characteristic feature of modern engineering is the production not of separate machines but of systems combining various machines that carry out a few operations or all the consecutive production processes. That enables industry to oust manual labour and to automatize production.

Soviet factories are putting out powerful 50,000, 100,000 and 150,000 kw. turbines and generators, and have produced the world's biggest hydro-units for the Kuibyshev Hydropower Station. The Elektrosila Works of Leningrad, in particular, is building a super-powerful 200,000-kw. generator with an improved cooling system.

The great advances that have been made by the Soviet machine-building industry are seen also from the fact that the Soviet Union is rendering the People's Democracies considerable aid, supplying them with machines, equipment and apparatuses for power stations, iron and steel works, textile mills and other factories and plants.

In order to ensure fulfilment of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and to make fuller use of the socialist industrial potential so as to enhance the country's productive forces still further, the Communist Party has taken important steps to raise the level of the leadership in the national economy. This question was discussed at the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (1957). On the initiative of the Central Committee, the Seventh Session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. adopted the "Law on the Further Improvement of Management in Industry and Construction."

This new law provides for measures aimed at fundamentally reorganizing the leadership in socialist economy. Economic management through branch Ministries and Departments, which had played an important role in the

past, is being replaced by new forms of administration on a territorial principle based on the existing economic regions. That will make it possible to combine the centralized state leadership of economy with the initiative of republican and local bodies, whose rights and responsibilities have been increased under the new scheme, and with a more active participation of broad masses of working people in the management of industry.

The tremendous growth achieved by the socialist economy in the past 40 years is the result of the selfless labour of the workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, who in October 1917 set up Soviet power. It is the result of the wise policy of the Communist Party, the militant vanguard of the working people, and is testimony of the unquestionable advantages of the socialist over the capitalist system of economy.

GREAT RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

As a result of the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the working class of Russia took the reigns of power into its own hands. The working people acquired the great rights and freedoms for which they had fought. The very masses, who, as Lenin pointed out, are prevented from sharing in political life and from enjoying democratic rights and freedoms by countless devices and subterfuges even in the most democratic of the bourgeois republics, have in this country been drawn into permanent, absolute and decisive participation in the democratic administration of the state.

Shortly before the October Revolution, in September 1917, the reactionary *Novoye Vremya* (*New Times*) wrote:

"Let us assume for a moment that the Bolsheviks will win. Who will govern us then? Cooks, those authorities on cutlets and beefsteaks? Or firemen, stable-boys, stokers? Or, perhaps, nurses will run to meetings of the state council when they have time to spare from washing swaddling clothes? Who then? Who are these statesmen?

"Perhaps turners will concern themselves with theatres, plumbers — with diplomacy, carpenters — with the post and telegraph? Perhaps nurses will begin giving interviews?

"Stable-boys, nurses, cooks — those are the people who, according to the Bolsheviks, are called upon to rule our country. Will that happen? No! Is that possible? A categorical answer to this mad question will be given the Bolsheviks by history."

History has indeed given a convincing reply to this question. The reins of government were taken over by workers, peasants and representatives of the working intelligentsia, people who had been without civil rights and had been oppressed by tsarism, the landlords and the capitalists. What would malignants like the reactionaries from the *Novoye Vremya* have said now?

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies are the political foundation of the U.S.S.R. They are truly democratic organs of state power and the most all-embracing working people's organizations representing the interests of the broadest masses of the people. Their chief concern is to satisfy the most vital and most urgent needs of the people as best and as fully as possible.

"Remember, you are now governing the state yourselves," were the words with which Lenin addressed the working people. And these words fully reflect the political

and economic essence of the Soviets. Each Soviet is strong and possesses real power because it directly expresses the will of the people.

Ordinary men and women, elected to organs of power, discuss and decide affairs of state with a profound feeling of responsibility, thoughtfully and circumspectly.

The essence of democracy depends on who governs the state. The people? Or a sorry handful of capitalists? In the U.S.S.R., the state is governed by the people. The masses of the working people are the rulers of the destinies of their country. In every capitalist country the people are in reality barred from state administration and the state apparatus itself exists only in order to keep them away from power and in subjection.

Let us consider the bourgeois suffrage for a moment. Lenin frequently pointed out that the bourgeois electoral systems, even the most democratic ones, actually limit the suffrage of the workers by age, domicile and employment restrictions. Restrictions of this kind, Lenin said, affect the most class-conscious strata of the proletariat in the greatest measure.

In most bourgeois-democratic countries, the law makes deputies independent of their electors. Thus, until new elections are held, the electors have no means of influencing their deputies even if the latter pass from one political camp to another in defiance of the will of the electors, and support bills that run counter to the interests of the electors and please only a handful of capitalists.

The Soviet electoral law is essentially different from the electoral laws of capitalist countries. It is based on democratic principles. Deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the highest organ of state power in this country, and deputies to the Supreme Soviets of Union and

autonomous republics, and local Soviets, are elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the U.S.S.R. who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religion, education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activities participate in them. Under the Soviet electoral law, citizens may participate in elections no matter where they are when elections are held: at their place of permanent or temporary residence, on a business trip, on leave, at a health resort, or in the armed forces.

Free expression of the will of citizens is ensured by the fact that voting at elections of deputies is secret.

Elections of deputies are direct. In direct elections, as distinct from elections by stages, the voter directly elects his deputy. Such elections ensure direct contact between the deputy and his electorate. Voters know whom they elect, take an interest in his work and may demand that the deputy report on his work and on how he is carrying out the mandate of the electors and what he or she is doing to meet their needs and requirements.

In this country, a deputy is really and truly a representative and servant of the people. The Constitution gives electors the right to recall their deputy at any time upon decision of a majority if the deputy falls short of his duties or does not justify the trust placed in him.

The Soviets are representative bodies of the popular masses. They are composed of Communists and non-Party citizens, the best sons and daughters of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. Candidates for deputies are candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party citizens.

More than half the deputies are non-Party Soviet people. As the leading and guiding force of Soviet society, the Communist Party participates in elections jointly with the trade unions, the Young Communist League and other working people's organizations and societies.

The Soviets have the enthusiastic support of the people, thanks to which they are scoring further successes in economic and cultural construction, in the struggle for preschedule fulfilment of the five-year plans.

At the last elections to the local Soviets of Working People's Deputies, held in March 1957, more than a million and a half men and women were elected to govern the state. More than 60 per cent of the deputies are workers or collective farmers; 37 per cent are women.

The strength of the Soviets lies in their close bond with the people. Deputies are not the only people participating in the work of the Executive Committees of the local Soviets and of their sections and departments, which direct the activities of the Soviets throughout the country. Every Soviet citizen who holds dear the interests of the state tries to contribute all he can towards strengthening the Soviet system. Millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals of all nationalities actively share in the work of the Soviets, are members of their commissions and other Soviet organizations.

Take, say, the long-term housing construction plan of any district. It is drawn up not only by workers of the Executive Committee. Its draft is publicly discussed and the Commissions of Assistance at House Managements introduce their amendments. Soviet people display as lively an interest in the planning and building of streets. Tenants of many houses even elect special representatives to keep in touch with the Soviets on these questions.

This noble activity bears its fruit.

Moscow, Leningrad and other cities have changed beyond recognition. Ivanovo, where more than 50 years ago the first Soviet of Workers' Deputies was set up, is now a big and beautiful city. In Soviet years, its area has increased more than four times. Over 10 million square feet of floor space have been built in it and the number of streets more than doubled. It has all the conveniences of a modern city: water-piping, electricity, trams, buses and taxis. Many public gardens and parks have been laid out. The city has 200 libraries with a total of three million books, 63 secondary schools, six institutions of higher learning, 20 vocational schools, 15 trade and factory schools, three theatres, a philharmonic society, a circus, 18 clubs, 15 cinemas, a recreation park, and three stadiums. There are 1,100 physicians and more than 2,500 medical workers with a secondary training. The 155 kindergartens and crèches cater for 14,000 children.

Only people's deputies vitally interested in the happiness of the working people, only Soviet rule could have brought about such remarkable transformations!

The men and women whom the working people of Ivanovo have elected to the City Soviet, include representatives of the old guard of the working class F. V. Kolesnikov and A. I. Merkuryev, who worked at the Balashov Factory for half a century, and I. G. Suchkov, a member of the Communist Party since 1903. These men have given many years of their lives to the honourable but difficult work of a deputy. Deputies to the Soviet include Maria Katalova, Party member and weaver at the Bolshaya Ivanovskaya Textile Mill who was born when the Revolution broke out, Boris Titov, member o

the Y.C.L. and fitter at the Spool Factory, and many other worthy sons and daughters of the people.

Soviet rule has given the working people great rights. These include the right to work, and to guaranteed payment for this work in accordance with its quantity and quality, to rest and leisure, to education, and to maintenance in old age and also in case of sickness or disability.

Soviet power has not only proclaimed the right of citizens to work but has created the necessary conditions for implementing this right.

"The right to work," the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. declares, "is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment." Soviet power has taken the implements and means of production from the hands of private owners and made them public property. By nationalizing the land, industrial enterprises and the transport, Soviet power made the working people masters of their country and ensured them with permanent work.

Unemployment, the scourge of working people in capitalist countries, was abolished in the U.S.S.R. already during the period of the First Five-Year Plan.

Neither origin nor wealth makes a person distinguished in a socialist country. His value to society and his place in life are determined by his work, by the contribution he makes towards the country's advance towards communism, for work for the weal of society is the yardstick by which the value and merits of a Soviet citizen are measured. People who devote all their strength, knowledge and experience to benefit the country enjoy universal respect

In the Soviet Union, labour is not an oppressive duty as it continues to be in capitalist countries, but a form of creation.

The most remarkable result of the five-year plans is the cultural growth of the people and the mass technical creative effort of the working class in all sectors of industry and construction. Millions of people are improving industrial processes in laboratories of research institutes, in designing offices, or directly at industrial enterprises, at the workbenches.

The creative work of the masses has brought to life a new method of labour—socialist emulation. Socialist emulation differs basically from competition, which is a feature of capitalist industry. It is founded on the principle that the persons lagging behind are helped by those in front with the purpose of achieving general progress. Competition leads to the defeat and ruin of many and the victory and supremacy of a few. It inexorably commands the strong to finish off the weak in order to consolidate themselves.

The history of human society knows of no other case of labour laying bare the creative ability of the people with such incredible strength as it has done in this country.

Every year hundreds of thousands of valuable suggestions are contributed by workers to the treasure-store of folk experience. These suggestions benefit not only the factory or plant concerned but the whole of Soviet society. When the Soviet worker finds something new or discovers a production secret he strives to make it available to his comrades. And the Soviet innovator knows no greater joy than the broad dissemination of his method and the consciousness that he has helped in the success of many thousands of workers.

* * *

A feature of innovation, rationalization and invention by workers of the Soviet Union is that, on the one hand, it is a mass movement and, on the other, a lofty stimulus, moving people forward. In this country labour is not divided into "dignified" and "humble" categories. Life has shown that the work of the turner and the steelmaker, the miner and the artist, the husbandman and the doctor, the bricklayer and the engineer is similarly inspired and creative in the fullest possible meaning of these words.

In 1956, rationalizers, inventors and innovators submitted 2,080,000 suggestions. That no longer surprises anybody. Perhaps the figure is not very high for such a big country and therefore there is nothing to be surprised at? In reply to this, it may be pointed out that in 1913, inventors filed less than 5,000 applications. Five thousand and 2,080,000—what a tremendous difference!

In socialist conditions, mass technical innovation, inventions and the rationalization movement have become inexhaustible sources and the impelling stimulus of technical progress. In studying the technology of production, raising his own technical and theoretical knowledge and mastering the experience of others, the advanced worker-innovator seeks to make his labour more productive.

Rationalizers, who are formost people in industry, are becoming real captains of industry, the motivating force of the socialist national economy. Time and again they have shown that they are equal to the tasks that arise as a consequence of the growth of new technique, of technical progress in all branches of industry. In collaboration with scientists, engineers, and technicians, Soviet workers are inventing new machines and devices which

make human labour easier and lighter, raise its productivity and thereby accelerate Soviet society's advance towards communism.

The building of a new society and the competition between two world systems — socialism and capitalism — have made technical progress an important driving wheel of the life of Soviet society. Technical progress depends primarily on men of technique and science, on rationalizers and inventors.

Soviet workers are making new machines, which are enabling man to control intricate technical processes. To continue in that direction they must know more and perseveringly enrich their knowledge. Native sharpness is no longer enough. That must be combined with precise calculation, a high level of technical training and creative daring.

Every year brings fresh, vivid evidence of the creative ability and genius of the Soviet working class. More and more talented workers are appearing at Soviet enterprises. They are mastering the intricate art of creating modern complex machines, instruments and apparatuses and are showing outstanding proficiency in operating complicated machinery and controlling multiform production processes.

* * *

People are the Soviet Union's chief wealth. They are solicitously keeping up the revolutionary and labour traditions of the working class, and the Communist Party unswervingly sees to it that these traditions are continued and multiplied.

The history of the Bromley Factory in Moscow, now the Krasny Proletary Works, reflects the path of the Russian

working class as in a mirror. Opened in 1857, a few years before the abolition of serfdom, this factory was one of the places where the Russian proletariat began to take shape. In the course of 60 years before the October Revolution, the workers of the Bromley Factory went through a great and stern school. Their class-consciousness grew and developed from year to year in conditions of relentless exploitation. From an economic struggle they went over to political strikes, and from study in Marxist circles to the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. Shoulder to shoulder with the men of Krasnaya Presnya, the workers of the factory fought at the barricades in December 1905, and actively shared in the second Russian revolution. When the thunderstorm of October 1917 broke out, they fought for Soviet rule in the ranks of the Red Guards of Moscow. In the Civil War they fought against the Whiteguards and the interventionists.

The body of workers of this enterprise, which was renamed Krasny Proletary (Red Proletarian) in 1922, heroically surmounted the trying years of ruin and devastation and, confidently following the path mapped out by the Communist Party, took the highroad of the five-year plans.

Creative thought, inventiveness, and initiative by the workers began to thrive at the factory in Soviet years. The Krasny Proletary Works is now famous throughout the country for the way its workers indefatigably promote technical progress. The names of vertical lathe operator N. Kuzmin, turner V. Shumilin, fitter V. Yermilov, shop foreman I. Belov, technologist A. Bolotin, designers V. Kostyunin and A. Fedorovsky, and of many others are widely known.

In commemoration of the factory's centenary, it was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour for its services in developing Soviet machine-building. Government awards were received by a large group of workers. Two of the leading representatives of the factory, fitters V. Yermilov and K. Sarafanov, were decorated with the title of Hero of Socialist Labour.

The history of the Lenin Neva Machine-Building Plant (formerly the Semyannikov Factory) of Leningrad is no less full of stirring events.

It was there that towards the close of the last century Lenin set up the first illegal workers' circles, uniting them into Russia's Marxist labour organization, the Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Lenin found courageous, staunch champions of the proletariat among the workers of the plant. One of them, Ivan Babushkin, was one of his closest associates.

When the foremost workers of the plant organized their military detachments during the first Russian revolution and came out boldly against the imperialist war, they were guided by Lenin's ideas. In response to Lenin's appeal, Red Guard detachments made up of Neva machine-builders took part in the October armed uprising, fought for Soviet rule, and took up arms in the Civil War to defend the young Soviet state.

On January 17, 1918, Lenin signed a decree of the Council of People's Commissars, which stated:

"In view of the Neva Plant's debts to the treasury of the Russian Republic, the Council of People's Commissars hereby decrees that the Neva Plant with all its property in whatever shape and form belongs to the Russian Republic...."

This was one of the first acts of the Soviet Government which started off the nationalization of industry. The Neva Plant passed into the hands of its real masters—the working class and since then it has changed beyond recognition. The only reminders of the past are a few low-ceilinged shops.

The Neva Plant has made a worthy contribution towards the country's industrialization. One of its first orders in Soviet years was for equipment for the Volkhov Hydropower Station, the first-born of Lenin's plan of electrification. The orders of the Sixth Five-Year Plan were for experimental castings of machines for the giant of Soviet power engineering, the Bratsk Hydropower Station, gas and steam turbines, blowers and compressors.

The labour of miners, too, has changed tremendously in Soviet years. The mines themselves are now called underground factories. The big coal enterprises are abundantly equipped with the latest machines and the work of the miners is strictly organized and scarcely differs at all from work at a modern factory.

In all its activity, Soviet power rests on the achievements of modern science. The Soviet Government does everything in its power to spread knowledge among the people.

Soviet power has given the people the right to education. This right is ensured by compulsory, free secondary (seven- or ten-year) education, stipends for most students at establishments of higher learning, teaching in the native language, and free technical and agronomical training. The country has a dense network of courses, evening schools and correspondence schools. The system of public education ensures millions of people with secondary-school and higher education, thereby

creating the conditions for erasing and completely abolishing the antithesis between mental and physical labour.

However, education is not only the private affair of young men and women. The state is vitally interested in a numerous army of educated people, in training specialists in all branches of knowledge. The country's continuously growing demand for man-power gave rise to the necessity of training skilled workers in accordance to a plan.

A system of state labour reserves for training skilled workers from among young people for industry, transport, construction and communications was set up in 1940. Numerous vocational, railwaymen's and factory schools were opened throughout the country. Schools of a new type, known as technical colleges, were opened in the post-war years.

Soviet, Party and trade-union organizations promote not only the qualifications of young workers but also their general education. To serve this purpose there are evening schools and colleges for working youth and evening establishments of higher learning.

At Soviet factories people are interested in how many of the young workers are studying, where they are studying and what the results of the school year are. Every year is a period of creative work and hard study and each time the figures, like mirrors, reflect people's growth, their rise to yet another step up the ladder of cultural development. They are at once instructive and interesting.

Some fifteen years ago, the people who went to work at the Orjonikidze Machine-Tool Building Factory in Moscow did not have much of an education, only five or six classes of a secondary school. Of course, such workers studied, they did not stand still. But the lack of knowl-

edge made itself felt. In 1952, the picture was already quite different. Most of the people went to the factory after finishing a seven-year school, while in the past two years alone the factory took on 250 persons with a secondary-school education. That is very characteristic of our days. The young people of the factory work and study. Every year about 50 of them finish technical colleges, 40—evening schools for working youth, and four or five—an institute. In 1956, ten of them received a technical degree and were transferred to the factory's designing office.

The cultural revolution that has been carried out has wiped out illiteracy in this once backward country and given it six million specialists with a higher- or secondary-school training. Altogether some 50 million people are studying at the various schools and courses. Of them, more than two million are institute or university students. Soviet students do not have to worry about tuition fees. That is covered by the state, which also pays stipends to students.

Soviet youth have free access both to general and special education. Hundreds of thousands of young people make use of the opportunities placed before them.

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Soviet power has given the working people rights not only to work and to education, but also the right to rest and leisure.

People have the right to cultured, pleasant leisure—such is one of the basic laws of Soviet society.

The right of Soviet citizens to leisure is ensured by a short working day and the fact that industrial; office

and other workers receive an annual vacation with full pay.

Immediately after the October Revolution, on November 11, 1917, the Soviet Government issued a decree establishing an eight-hour working day. In some branches of industry, a shorter working day was introduced. In 1927, the working day was reduced to seven hours (for the majority of workers). For workers employed on underground, night and particularly harmful work, and for juveniles between the ages of 16 and 18, the working day was limited to six hours.

In 1940, when more than half the globe was already enveloped in the flames of war, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions applied to the supreme organs of state power to lengthen the working day to eight hours. The working class realized that the threat of war was greater than ever before. In order to be ready for any eventuality the country needed more metal, coal, oil, aircraft, tanks, guns, shells, locomotives, carriages, automobiles and other items. The interests of the country, of the entire Soviet people, demanded that the working day be lengthened and vacations shortened. When victory was won, overtime work was abolished and vacations were restored. All workers received cash compensation for the vacation-time they had not used during the war.

* * *

There are many thousands of trade-union clubs and palaces of culture where tens of millions of workers and employees spend their free time. Millions of people are members of amateur talent circles at these

One of these clubs belongs to the Likhachov Auto Works in Moscow. It was built in the former Simonovskaya suburb by the architects the brothers Vesnin by commission of the Trade Union of Metal Workers.

The club has a theatre with seats for 1,100 spectators. The left wing is set aside for the children; it is an exact replica of the club as a whole. The club proper is in the right wing, and this includes a small concert hall, a lecture-room, a ball-room for 700 people, and a big hall of columns with 1,200 seats. The club can cater for 5,000 people simultaneously.

At the disposal of Soviet people there are all the means of culture that ennoble man, free him from survivals of capitalism, awaken his creative powers, and open up broad vistas. These means include literature, the theatre, music, painting and the cinema. There is now a far-flung network of cinemas in all urban and suburban areas. Television and technicolour films are developing successfully. The entire country has been covered with a network of radio-broadcasting stations.

The Soviet Government, which is interested in having every Soviet citizen rise to the level of advanced culture and science, is concerned with providing the working people with facilities for spending their leisure time pleasantly and usefully. None other than a socialist state could set itself and solve such a task.

The right of the working people to rest and leisure is ensured by a huge number of sanatoriums, holiday homes, health resorts and so forth. After the Revolution, the luxuriant summer cottages and villas that the big landlords and capitalists had built for themselves, as well as the palaces of the tsar and of the grand princes were converted into health resorts for workers and peasants. In

Soviet years, health resorts were built along the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus and the Crimea and in many other places.

Let us turn to state social insurance. It covers grants in the event of temporary disability and so on, old age pensions, long-service benefits, disability pensions and pensions for families who have lost the bread winner.

There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union and therefore there are no unemployment grants.

In 1925, the government allocated 625 million rubles for social insurance, but 31 years later, in 1956, that sum exceeded 30,000 million rubles. In other words 48 times more money was allocated.

In many capitalist countries the working man cannot consider himself materially secure. While he is in health he works and manages to make ends meet. But the moment he falls ill he finds himself face to face with the inexorable necessity of having to pay for medicine, for medical attention, for all forms of treatment. And since the capitalists do not provide him with sickness grants, all trace of his former "well-being" vanishes.

Another aspect of the activity of state social insurance bodies is getting employment for persons who have partially lost their capacity for their work or helping them to learn a new trade.

Public health is receiving a great deal of attention under the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The Soviet Government is taking steps to extend the network of out-patient hospitals, polyclinics and sanatoriums.

The constant concern of the Party and the Government for the health of the working class has resulted in a sharp decline of the mortality rate, a longer expectancy of life

and a considerable increase in the number of people attaining the age of 70 and over.

The Pension Law that was adopted in 1956 is clear evidence of the attention being paid to the people's prosperity. Under that law pensions have been considerably increased.

Pensioners enjoy universal respect and affection. The gratitude of the people with whom they had worked for tens of years and the constant requests to keep in touch with their factories or offices make them feel that their country needs them as before. Therefore, for many people retirement on a pension does not in any way mean breaking away from the collective, from public life.

A particularly remarkable thing is that many of the people now retiring from work are men and women who had founded the Soviet state, helped to raise the country from chaos and ruin in the first years after the Revolution and contributed towards the fulfilment of the first five-year plans. A well-spent youth is being crowned by an honourable old age.

* * *

The Great October Socialist Revolution emancipated women, drew them into active public life and made them free and equal toilers in all spheres of the country's political, economic and cultural life.

After Soviet rule was established, women joined in the work of building up the new system with confidence and zeal. They began to tend machine-tools and machines and to drive tractors. Today, they are working shoulder to shoulder with men everywhere, on construction projects, in factories. Women excavator-operators are digging

foundation trenches, women crane-operators are hoisting containers with bricks and large prefabricated sections.

In metallurgical shops women are smelting iron and controlling the feed of white-hot pigs to the rolling mill. Then take the host of women turners, textile workers, drivers of buses, trolleybuses, Metro engines and electric locomotives, and dispatchers at power stations and power systems. They have acquired habits of work and a professional skill and knowledge and what they value most is their equality, their right to work.

There is a steadily growing number of women working in industry and transport. To date they comprise 45.5 per cent of all workers and employees in industry. 480,000 women are engineers and technicians. Forty-one per cent of the college- or university-trained agronomists, livestock experts, veterinary surgeons and foresters in the country are women. Women make up 76 per cent of the country's physicians and 70 per cent of the teachers.

Thirty-six per cent of the scientists are women. Among the women working in the Academy of Sciences alone there are an Academician, 11 corresponding members, 141 doctors of science and 2,127 candidates of science. The Union of Soviet Writers has 510 women members, the Union of Soviet Artists—1,400 women members, and the Union of Architects—1,160 women members.

More than half a million women are deputies to local Soviets, and 348 women are deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Among the members of factory trade-union committees, 42.8 per cent are women.

Over a million women have been awarded Orders and medals in reward for their selfless labour for the weal of the country. 2,429 women have been decorated with the title of Hero of the Soviet Union and Hero of Socialist

Labour. 51,693 women bear the honourable title of Mother-Heroine. The Order of Glory of Motherhood and the Medal of Motherhood has been awarded to 5,500,000 women.

The working women of capitalist countries can only dream of the rights that have been won by the women of the Soviet Union.

The nation-wide concern for the youngest generation, for small children, is one of the loftiest traditions of Soviet society. Everything is being done to provide them with healthy recreation. Loving care for children is an immutable law of a socialist country.

Nearly two and a half million children annually attend kindergartens and playgrounds. Crèches accommodate 960,000 children; of this number, 283,000 children are cared for by village crèches. More than 7,200 medical establishments look after children's health. Under the Sixth Five-Year Plan accommodation in crèches will be increased by 46.2 per cent in towns and by 31.7 per cent in villages. There will be 45 per cent more places in kindergartens. By the close of the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, the total number of children's establishments will be approximately trebled.

We have said nothing of the huge number of children who have been taught painting, music, model-building and many other things at Young Pioneer Houses and extra-school activity circles. These circles have helped many of them to develop their talents and even to determine their vocation.

Young men and women are in the van of the builders of communism. Fortunately, the young citizens of the Soviet Union did not have to live in the harsh, oppressive atmosphere of a society based on the exploitation of man

by man. Surrounded by the attention and care of the entire people, the Soviet youth never had, nor will they ever have, to work for exploiters.

Remarkably talented people have come to the fore in this country. Among scientists, engineers, writers, artists and actors there is a tremendous number of young people who could attain the summits of art and technique only in socialist conditions. Young Soviet men and women have frequently demonstrated their achievements at international festivals and won first prizes at international contests.

Soviet power has given its young citizens genuine equality in every field of economic, administrative, cultural, public and political life. From their fathers, mothers and elder brothers, the young men and women of this country have taken over a valuable heritage so as not only to preserve but to multiply the great gains of socialism.

The labour of every Soviet citizen merges with the labour effort of the entire country and creates national wealth, which is the basis of the people's well-being. That is why under the Soviet Constitution participation in the common labour effort of the people is not only a right but also a duty, a matter of honour for every citizen. Receiving the right to work when they come of age, young Soviet citizens deem it a duty to work honestly and conscientiously.

Soviet power gave the youth the right to set up their own organizations. The Soviet youth have their own clubs and libraries, magazines and daily newspapers.

The Young Communist League enjoys enormous prestige among young people. Y.C.L. organizations have the righ

of initiative and the right to discuss and raise before Party organizations problems connected with the work of factories, collective farms, offices and so forth. The Y.C.L. shapes the consciousness of the Soviet youth and draws them to participation in public life.

Soviet power has given the youth the right to participate in administering the state, the right to elect and be elected to all organs of state power, from the Village Soviet to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Young people who have reached the age of 23 are eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

As a political organization of the youth, the Y.C.L. puts forward its own candidates for deputies. Y.C.L. representatives are members of election commissions. During election campaigns, hundreds of thousands of duty-conscious young men and women act as representatives of and agitators for candidates of the bloc of Communists and non-Party citizens.

The Y.C.L. is a major social force working in close cooperation with state and other organizations.

Soviet society has set itself the task of completely uprooting survivals of capitalism from people's minds. Members of the Y.C.L. are whole-heartedly helping in this struggle to forge a new man. The idler, the shirker, and the unprincipled person who seeks to gain something for nothing have no place in Soviet society.

The Communist Party is devoting constant attention to the upbringing of the younger generation as the future bearers of the great banner of communism.

* * *

The Soviet Constitution guarantees citizens of the U.S.S.R. freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly and meetings, street processions and demonstrations, ensuring these civil rights by placing at the disposal of the working people and their organizations printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, communications facilities and other material requisites and conditions.

In the Soviet Union, freedom of speech, assembly and the press is not an empty phrase but the inalienable right of the people. Millions of people in the Soviet Union use this right for business-like criticism, for useful suggestions and for discussing important problems, which goes to show that the broadest masses have the possibility of sharing the administration of the country.

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In the Soviet Union, the entire activity of the trade unions, cooperatives, collective farms, and cultural, scientific and many other public organizations and working people's societies is built up on principles of socialist democracy. A closer acquaintanceship with the life of any Soviet factory will show how the workers, engineers and technicians make use of their rights and political freedoms, and how they influence the course of public and factory life daily, hourly.

The entire staff of every factory participates in its management. The forms of participation are diverse: workers' meetings, production meetings, economic conferences, open Party meetings as well as trade union and Y.C.L. meetings.

Many workers are deputies to various organs of state power—district, town and regional Soviets. Workers

have every reason to be devoted to Soviet rule. It unrelaxingly concerns itself with the weal of all working people, giving them daily proof of its solicitude.

In the trade unions, the workers actively help to develop socialist democracy, draw up state plans of economic and cultural construction and labour legislation, cultivate the socialist emulation movement, and disseminate advanced experience. The trade unions tirelessly foster in the masses a communist attitude towards labour and carry on extensive work in social insurance.

There is a huge army of 16 million trade-union activists in the country. In other words, every third member of a trade union is an activist. They include insurance delegates, public labour protection inspectors, organizers of cultural activities, workers' supply and public catering inspectors, and members of production, housing and other commissions.

Soviet workers know that everything done in this country is channelled to benefit the people and for that reason they participate in public life and work enthusiastically. On the initiative of advanced workers there is now an increasing number of factories and plants that seek to overfulfil production plans through more economical expenditure of fuel, raw materials and electric power, through higher labour productivity, application of new technologies, and through the replacement of scarce materials by materials that are more plentiful.

Workers who approach their jobs creatively play an exceptionally important role in helping the country to make better use of industrial reserves. They raise vital questions for discussion at Party and workers' meetings,

production meetings, and at meetings of the factory management. They make it their business to see that all the useful suggestions submitted at these meetings are carried out, that more workers take an interest in the affairs of their factory, and that all valuable undertakings, advice and suggestions by innovators, rationalizers and inventors receive due support.

Production meetings are a tried form of unceasing participation by broad masses of workers in the management of industry and in improving the work of industrial enterprises. They are one of the most important means of furthering socialist production and mobilizing the workers for the struggle to raise labour productivity. Beginning with the first years of socialist construction, workers of factories, plants, mines and building projects have been enhancing this country's economy not only by their work but also by their active, creative participation in every aspect of production. Production meetings, therefore, are an important means of organizing the workers' initiative, which allows Soviet people, as the masters of their socialist country, to participate in the management of industry.

At team, shop and general production meetings, workers, engineers and technicians discuss technical progress, the quality of the output, the attitude of personnel towards equipment, ways and means of economizing on materials, tools and fuel, doing away with fitful work, losses and idle time, reducing costs, and questions connected with the fulfilment of the collective agreements.

Every urgent problem of production and every undertaking that interests and stirs workers is discussed at production meetings, where collective thought and col-

lective experience always help to smooth out what is business-like and valuable and reject what is defective and incorrect.

Soviet people freely gather and discuss vital problems of public, political and industrial life and that is a real embodiment of freedom of speech, freedom of thought and freedom of assembly.

A very vivid testimony of the bloom of democracy in Soviet conditions was the nation-wide discussion of the problem of further improving the management of industry and construction. According to incomplete data, more than 514,000 meetings attended by 40,820,000 working people were held at industrial enterprises, construction sites, scientific institutions, collective farms, machine-and-tractor stations, state farms, units of the Soviet Army and educational establishments in the period between March 30 and May 4, 1957. Over 2,300,000 people voiced their proposals, observations and recommendations. More than 68,000 workers, collective farmers, scientists and engineers, and Party, Soviet, managerial and trade-union workers contributed articles and letters to newspapers and magazines.

These facts convincingly show the genuine democratism and profound people's character of the Soviet system, which provides the broadest masses of working people with the opportunity of sharing in the solution of basic problems of the country's national economy not in words but in deeds.

The nation-wide discussion of such an important affair of state is the best concrete example of steadfast adherence to Lenin's principle of collective leadership and of maintaining an indivisible bond between the leadership and the people. It is the best example showing

how the Party and the Government unflaggingly promote the creative initiative and activity of the masses, who have been raised by the Soviet system to direct, daily participation in the administration of the state.

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While giving citizens great rights, Soviet power at the same time places a great responsibility on them. There can be no responsibility without rights nor rights without responsibility.

Every Soviet citizen is in duty bound to safeguard and fortify public, socialist property. Soviet working people protect the national wealth against plunderers, energetically fight against mismanagement and a careless and criminal attitude to public property, keep a precise account of public expenses and see that public money is not spent wastefully.

Universal military service is law. In the Soviet Union young men do not regard conscription as a burden. In the army they go through a remarkable school of physical and moral training.

The loftiest manifestation of a young Soviet man's patriotism is his readiness to defend his country. "To defend the country," Article 133 of the Soviet Constitution declares, "is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R."

Soviet people display heroism in peace and in war. The reason for this is that they are physically, psychologically, morally and politically prepared for that. Young soldiers of the Soviet Army and members of partisan detachments performed heroic deeds because they were reared by a great Motherland, by the Communist Party which

by its own noble example of serving the people inculcated in people's minds the most sublime and just of ideas, by the Party which took the leadership in the struggle for mankind's great ideals.

In the 1930's, Y.C.L. enthusiasts built a large industrial centre on the banks of the Amur. It was named Komsomolsk in their honour. Thousands of strong and courageous young men went to work in the Donbas mines to give the country millions of tons of coal. Young people built a tractor works in the steppe near Stalingrad. They created huge metallurgical plants at the foot of Mount Magnitnaya and in the Kuznetsk Ala-Tau and were the first to help their fathers and elder brothers operate the furnaces.

A truly heroic exploit was performed by the young men and women who went to Kazakhstan, Siberia and the Altai to develop virgin lands. Through their labour millions of acres of virgin and fallow land were brought to life and an unprecedented crop was grown.

Much has been done by young people in formerly uninhabited and wild regions and still more awaits to be done by them under the far-reaching programme outlined by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party.

The working class is solicitously bringing up the younger generation of the Soviet people in the best revolutionary and labour traditions.

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The Soviet working class has traversed a long and glorious road. On this road it has scored great, historical victories. The Soviet people owe all their victories and political gains to the wise leadership of the Communist

Party, its correct policy, its indefatigable organizational activity.

The Communist Party is the political leader, inspirer and teacher of the working class and of the whole Soviet people.

In its multiform activity, the Communist Party proceeded and continues to proceed from the Marxist-Leninist teaching that people of labour who create material values are the real makers of history and the creators of the entire material and spiritual culture of society, that they are the social force that can transform society along new lines. The Party believed and continues to believe in the creative strength of the working people and rests on their revolutionary energy.

The Communist Party embodies the wisdom, honour and conscience of our epoch. Experience has convinced the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union that none other than the Communist Party is able worthily to express the interests of the people and for that reason they regard the Party as part of themselves, unanimously accepting its leadership and giving its their wholehearted support.

The Communist Party reared Soviet people in fierce clashes with enemies of the Revolution, at the construction sites of industrial giants, in the struggle to collectivize agriculture. The active struggle for socialism strengthened the class-consciousness of the workers and peasants, enhanced their spiritual world, gave birth to and consolidated new features, outlooks, customs and morals.

The tremendous influence that the Communist Party has on the minds and hearts of people is explained by the justness, nobleness and majesty of the ideas inscribed on

its banners. Thanks to the tireless work of the Party, the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism have won over millions of people and are a mighty material force that is accelerating the march towards communism.

Remarkable fruit have been and continue to be borne by the far-reaching work done by the Communist Party. These fruit are seen everywhere—in the growth of a socialist consciousness among people, in the truly remarkable successes of the toilers of Soviet industry and agriculture, and in the rapid rate at which the glorious Soviet working class has grown and expanded.

The country was quick to appreciate the selfless labour of Soviet patriots. No fewer than 7,481 people have been decorated with the title of Hero of Socialist Labour.

The Communist Party is continually strengthening and extending its ties with the people. It not only teaches the popular masses but also learns from them. The importance of an initiative coming from the masses is that it expresses problems that have to be tackled. At the same time, the masses themselves indicate the most effective, shortest and quickest paths leading towards the solution of these problems.

Further extension of Soviet democracy is one of the cardinal tasks set by the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has adopted a number of laws, including the Law on the Further Improvement of Management in Industry and Construction, the law placing the territorial division of administrative regions and territories within the competence of the Union republics, and the new Rules of the Supreme Court of the U.S.S.R. All this is done in the interests of the people, in order to develop the creative initiative of Soviet citizens. In its turn, the growing creative ini-

tiative of the working people is the chief force of communist construction.

For forty years the Soviet state has stood like a fortress. The invincible ideas of the October Revolution are uniting a growing number of champions of the people's happiness.

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